

August 1956

an independent monthly

Liberation

THE GLORY OF BASEBALL

PUERTO RICO, ANOTHER OPINION **Norman Thomas**

"DODGING" THE DRAFT **Seymour Eichel**

THE ALLURE OF COMMUNISM **A. J. Muste**



CHINA: THE DOOR WE CLOSED

HARRY PAXTON HOWARD

30c

The September issue will feature a dramatic eight-page photo essay, *OLD CHILDREN*, by Harold Feinstein, former photographer for Life Magazine, and a first hand account by Bill Smith of his life with a Brooklyn YOUTH GANG. There will be other articles dealing with the plight of children in the modern world.

According to Who's Who in America, HARRY PAXTON HOWARD was Hitler's first American victim. The Nazis brought pressure to secure his dismissal from the China Press at Shanghai because of his outspoken editorials on the Reichstag fire. In all, he spent 24 years in the Far East. His book, *The Socialist and Labor*

Movement in Japan, caused his dismissal from that country in 1922. In 1941 he was forced to leave China because of Japanese threats of violence. He is also author of *America's Role in Asia*.

LAWRENCE LIPTON's latest book, *Rainbow at Midnight*, was named by Waldo Frank one of the five best books of 1955. He lives in Venice, California.

NORMAN THOMAS, who says he has no objection to being both right and President, has run for that office 6 times on the Socialist Party ticket.

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CHINA:

THE DOOR WE CLOSED

Harry Paxton Howard



WE HAVE WITNESSED in recent years a most notable triumph for long-range American policy in China. For half a century our outstanding and continuously avowed principle in that part of the world was "the political and territorial integrity of China." In 1900, the American government, in its historic assertion referred to "all parts of the Chinese Empire."

It was a remarkable position for the United States government to take, if we consider our own political origins. For we came into existence by our deliberate and determined disruption of the political and territorial integrity of the British Empire. And up to the fateful year of 1900, it had never been American policy to assert the integrity of foreign empires. But John Hay's proclamation was part of the entire development of those years, when the American government turned from the historic policy of the United States and itself went in for overseas imperialism, annexing the Philippines and crushing the liberty-loving Filipinos in a brutal and merciless war lasting for years.

The moribund Chinese empire collapsed in 1911, and a Chinese Republic was proclaimed at Nanking. Washington refused to recognize the Republic, but continued to proclaim "Chinese integrity"—i.e., the integrity of the defunct empire. This integrity was re-established at Peking for a while, under the militarist Yuan Shih-kai as agent for the imperial powers whose garrisons dominated the old capital.

Yuan, following American advice, made himself Emperor, and issued a great batch of railway concessions for American capitalists throughout "all parts of the Chinese 'Empire.'" But revolution broke out again. Yuan abdicated—and died. The American railway concessions were quietly filed away. The Chinese Parliament reasserted itself at Peking.

This situation continued only until 1917. In China, somewhat as in Russia, it was Wilson's "war for democracy" which doomed the Republic. In Russia, the Wilson government managed to keep Kerensky and his gang at war against Germany until the Bolsheviks seized power and destroyed the Republic. In China, which had been permitted to remain neutral until 1917, Wilson insisted that the Chinese also join the Great Crusade. The Chinese Parliament, being less subservient than most American Congressmen, refused. But Wilson and his new-found British and Japanese Allies brought pressure, Parliament was dismissed, and a military dictatorship was established at Peking—under Allied domination.

This, in reality, was the end of the Republic. The militarists, with direct financial compensation, cheerfully declared war on Germany. The parliamentarians fled for their lives—mostly to Shanghai and Canton. The Republic was again proclaimed—at Canton. The American government, of course, did not recognize it. In season and out of season, whether China was divided

into six reigns or twelve regimes under as many warlords or outright bandits or big-time gangsters or Fascist dictatorships or Communist dictatorships or foreign stooges, with no effective central authority whatsoever, the American government continued to mouth "the political and territorial integrity" of a moribund empire which had passed away forty years before.

The American "Triumph"

AMERICAN perseverance and "principle", supplemented by a first-class war culminating in atomic warfare, finally achieved success. The days of Chinese division and chaos, like the days of the short-lived Chinese Republic, are over. A single powerful centralized government dominates all China—all the "parts of the Chinese Empire" whose integrity was called for by the American government at the beginning of this century. Even Manchuria, then under the domination of the Russian Empire, is now an integral part of the Chinese Communist State.

In terms of our avowed aims, American policy in China has been a howling success. But Washington, instead of boasting about the triumph of its "noble principles" in China, seems to be considerably annoyed about it.

Indeed, Washington was so impressed by its own success that it decided to turn over a new leaf altogether. It is now the one and only protagonist of a *divided* China, the one and only protector of the only surviving Chinese regime which is not subordinate to Peking—the Chiang Kai-shek regime on Formosa. This American dependency still claims title as the "Government of China". And the only thing that Washington and Peking seem to be in agreement upon is that Formosa is a "part of China." Parenthetically, it may be noted that Formosa was a part of the *Japanese* Empire when John Hay promulgated his historic doctrine in 1900.

There was another long-range "American principle" besides Chinese "integrity." This was the "Open Door," drawn up by the British for promulgation by John Hay as "American" doctrine in 1899. In 1900 the American government called for "the principle of equal and impartial trade with all parts of the Chinese Empire." What



this meant was that the Chinese imperial territories should have only the "treaty tariff" determined by the

foreign Powers, and administered by the British Commissioner of Customs in China.

There is much to be said for free trade—which was a long-standing British principle. But it was quite incongruous for the American government, with the highest tariffs in the world then as now, to demand this of China and of other powers in relation to China. The American government joined the British—whose China trade, *unlike ours*, was of some material importance—in denying to the Chinese the economic nationalism which we have ourselves exercised for more than a century. But the "Open Door," like the "political and territorial integrity of China," became an American shibboleth for fifty years.

In recent years, however, the American government has completely reversed itself on this also. With Chinese "integrity" at last achieved, America proceeded to slam shut the Open Door—from the outside. The American government now stands most emphatically for the "Closed Door" in relation to mainland China—the territories for which the "Open Door" was so long demanded. Washington is now very nasty toward the desires of most other governments for trade with any part of China.

Now this is not set down in any spirit of carping criticism. Our Washington politicians have long since assumed world leadership—or, at the very least, leadership of the "Free World". And a definite majority of our professed liberals actually accept this—though many of these were most scornful of the Leader Principle when Adolf Hitler was its outstanding open advocate.

"Principles" for the Times

ONE MIGHT easily assume, from the manner in which "basic principles" were reversed almost overnight, without even a serious argument or inquiry even from the "radicals", that these "principles" were completely phoney, and the American government never believed in them at all. The truth, however, is not quite so simple. The professed "principles" were the public expression of policies serving quite *unprincipled* ends, of which the general public knew little or nothing.

During the entire half-century of "territorial integrity" and "Open Door", there was a consistently racist official attitude toward the Chinese with which every informed American was familiar. One might know little about the complexities of Chinese developments, or the secret scheming of American interests, but every informed person knew of Chinese and Asiatic Exclusion, and knew that the Chinese were according to American law "unfit" for democratic citizenship. Most of our liberals, however, and even many "radicals", *deliberately* closed their eyes to this basic fact, and deliberately *chose* to believe in the nauseating official falsehoods of American "friendship for China."



We need not refer here to the many lynchings and massacres of the "heathen Chinks" in our Western States; these were "unofficial". But Chinese exclusion was official, and the denial of naturalization rights to Chinese legally here was wholly official. This latter practice was started in racist California (not Georgia), and in 1882 was made nation-wide policy by Act of Congress. This was not a matter of Chinese labor immigration, but of elementary citizenship rights. All through the Wilson and Roosevelt "crusades for democracy", the official American attitude was that Chinese were "unfit" for democracy.

This was a root attitude, existing long before American imperialism devised shibboleths for American imperialist policies in China. Of these latter, the "Open Door" slogan sounded good to many American business men told of the "vast potential markets of China". But in actual fact, our trade with China has been small, and not a *primary* interest. Thus, the arms embargo against China from 1919 to 1929, like that of today, was put into effect with little or no opposition from business elements.

In both cases, the embargoes were launched simply because the American government didn't like the things done by the Chinese government. In 1919, the situation was directly tied in with American racism, as President Wilson had climaxed his "war to make the world safe against democracy" by his championship at Versailles of white racism—making the world safe against racial equality. After weeks of discussion there, the Japanese-Chinese proposal for official recognition of racial equality was watered down to a clause in the League Preamble reading "by the endorsement of the principle of equality of nations and just treatment of its nationals"—which seemed to be acceptable even to Wilson. It was adopted by a vote of eleven to six in the Council.

But the gentleman from Virginia wasn't endorsing anything of the kind. He was chairman, and he vetoed it. In addition, the Versailles powers turned some Chinese territories over to the Japanese, so the latter accepted the Treaty and the League. But the Chinese refused to accept the infamous thing, and wouldn't sign it. So the arms embargo was slapped on, and continued until the American government ten years later found a Chinese

government it approved—the one-party dictatorship headed by Chiang Kai-shek at Nanking.

The Infernal Cycle Begins

THE REPEAL of the arms embargo in 1929, under American leadership, marked the beginning of a new period—remilitarization. The background of this was the increasing assertion of Chinese national rights against the special privileges of the Imperial Powers. The American government and other privileged Powers had their own garrisons in the Chinese capital at Peking, with a legation quarter under their own jurisdiction, and a foreign-controlled railway to the sea below Tientsin and its foreign-held concessions. American, like British and other warships, patrolled the Yangtze River and bombed Chinese cities at will. The great port of Shanghai was under a foreign-dominated Port Authority, with American and other garrisons and gunboats available, and with the most important areas of the city under direct foreign control and administration. The Treaty Powers controlled Chinese finances by direct control of Chinese tariffs and of the Chinese Customs Administration itself.

The system was seriously threatened in 1927 and 1928, both from Peking and elsewhere. Most Chinese were agreed that they wanted to be masters in their own country. But Chiang Kai-shek, who had risen to power as Moscow's favored protege, had broken with the Chinese Communists and Moscow and had gone to work for the Western Powers. His first and most regular patron was the American government, with whom he made a deal which assured him both of arms and of increased finances. With Chiang's active collaboration, the endangered structure of treaty privileges in China was re-established for a time.

Washington, of course, had to inject a bit of low comedy into the situation. At the time the Arms Embargo was lifted, making possible the systematic building up of Chiang Kai-shek's forces for war against rival Chinese forces and then against Japan, Washington was putting the final touches on the Kellogg-Briand Pact in renunciation of War. At the time the Chiang Kai-shek regime

signed this, its American-armed forces were engaged in all-out war against other Chinese forces. A Chinese air force was started, with American war-planes and American advisers, and the warm approval of Secretary Kellogg's government.

By 1931, however, Chiang Kai-shek's wars had brought hostile combinations against him which reduced Nanking to helplessness. When the Japanese forces in Manchuria moved against Chiang's erstwhile ally, Chang Hsueh-liang, and Chiang did not lift a finger to help his bandit ally, it seemed to be the end of his regime. He was forced to retire. A more widely representative Kuomintang regime was formed, with its 19th Route Army in the Shanghai-Nanking area. To dispose of this army, the American government called for Japanese help.

The official American propagandist position appears to be that "the Japanese attacked Shanghai". But the real story, though mostly secret at the time, was made public property by the League of Nations report in 1933, and has been available throughout to anyone who prefers truth to Washington's propaganda falsities. For the Japanese, like the American, British, and other military forces at Shanghai, were part of the International Settlement Defence Committee there, operating from foreign territory on Chinese soil. The Japanese forces were sent against the Chinese forces "in conformity with the plans of defense" drawn up by the Committee. When they were beaten back, the Japanese arranged a truce, and agreed to withdraw from the salient which the Committee had assigned them.

But Stimson, at Washington, flatly *vetoed* this, and insisted that the Chinese forces withdraw from Chapei. He also demanded that the Japanese "settle *all* outstanding controversies with the aid of neutral observers or participants"—which meant that the Japanese should accept the American-British plan for joint domination of Manchuria. The Japanese refused this condition, and agreed instead to continue the fighting at Shanghai. Heavy reinforcements finally overwhelmed the Chinese defenders, and drove them from the Shanghai area. Thanks to this Japanese operation, Chiang Kai-shek was able to return safely to Nanking.

Such, in sober fact, was the Shanghai War of 1932. I am not now discussing the right or wrong of it. I am simply citing documented facts. Stimson concealed these facts from the American public simply because most Americans would consider them morally shocking, and because he wanted to "concentrate opinion against Japan." In the same way, Stimson's "moral" pretences about Manchuria were simply a cover for his aims—also made plain by the League Report—for a Manchuria under White domination, with both Japanese and Chinese forces *withdrawn*. So much for the "political and territorial integrity of China!"

Japanese fulfillment of Stimson's desires at Shanghai,

however, availed them nothing. He *still* insisted on White domination of Manchuria also, and issued a "non-recognition" declaration which asserted veto power over Sino-Japanese relations and agreements. The Chinese and Japanese concluded the Tangku Truce Agreement early in 1933, but the American government declined to "recognize" it. In practice, the Chinese and Japanese were at peace for five years, but Washington wouldn't recognize such "renunciation of war" between the "Japs and Chinks".

Roosevelt Invites War

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT, who as Wilson's Assistant Secretary of the Navy had sketched plans for war against Japan (his cousin Theodore, in the same post, had personally engineered our conquest of the Philippines), and had drawn up the phoney "constitutions" for Haiti and San Domingo after these were seized by Wilson's marines, was visited by Stimson before he assumed the Presidency. They discussed war against Japan, Roosevelt expressed full approval of Stimson's policies, and before taking office F.D.R. issued a public statement: "American foreign policy must uphold the sanctity of international treaties."

This seemed like a splendid recommendation, especially to anyone who knew the general record of our treaties with the Indians, the Mexicans, the Caribbean Islanders, the Chinese, and other "lesser breeds". But actually, this was a kind of code word for Stimson's policy—and some Americans were so ignorant and gullible that they actually believed this *was* his policy!

Down to 1933, we had not recognized the Soviet Government at Moscow. And Stimson's non-recognition policy meant that we would not acknowledge the existence of the new Manchukuo government either. But Roosevelt in his very first year swung sharply away from this. He still refused to recognize the Mukden regime, *but* he extended formal and friendly recognition to the measurably more murderous and brutal Slavocracy at Moscow. Indeed, a remarkable political pact was made with Moscow, by which Stalin promised not to use the Comintern against the *American* government, and *reciprocal promises were made to Moscow by Washington!*

This, apparently, was the New Sanctity—though Stalin did not actually make the suggested trip to Washington for baptism in the White House swimming pool. Indeed, Moscow's penman Karl Radek had already set forth, in "Foreign Affairs," Moscow's idea of an American-Russian combination against Japan, and Moscow's suggestions for Manchuria. It was these suggestions, and not the American-British plans of 1932, which were finally fulfilled at the close of war in 1945. And it was from this Manchurian base that the Chinese Communists launched their great drive which finally sent the remnants of our Chinese mercenaries, in panicky rout, to American protection on Formosa.

"DODGING" the DRAFT

SEYMOUR EICHEL

ON JUNE 14, 1948, I celebrated my eighteenth birthday; on June 24, 1948, the Selective Service law was passed requiring all males between the ages of eighteen to twenty-six to register for the draft. Although I was brought up in a pacifist home, my first adult witness against war was made late in 1947 when as a high school senior I was asked to sign a "loyalty oath" in order to become eligible for a diploma. I knew then that I could not in clear conscience pledge myself to obey all the laws of the United States, for conscription had always seemed unjust to me, and I was aware that a new conscription law was in the offing.

In spite of the fact that I left high school without a diploma, I was admitted to William Penn College, a Quaker institution in Oskaloosa, Iowa, after having spoken personally with the college president, and having filed formal application for admission. It was not until I was already settled at college that I was granted my diploma, following nationwide publicity.

Candid Photos by Whom?

IN THE SUMMER, upon my return from my first semester at college, I took part in various pacifist activities, handing out leaflets at street meetings, speaking at one of them, picketing one of the registration centers in Manhattan, and telling many people in person of my attitude toward conscription and war. Often during these various demonstrations we were photographed by reporters or government agents, or both. But I was not arrested on any of those occasions,



and the government waited until June 12, 1956, two days before my twenty-sixth birthday and almost eight years after I had first made my position known, to arrest me.

In the spring of 1948, at the founding of the Peacemaker organization in Chicago, and some months before the Selective Service law was passed, I had already committed myself to non-registration in a written statement which I and others signed. The statement was given the widest possible publicity. I followed the same course at the Peacemaker conference held in Chicago in 1949.

When Eichel Refused to Sign a "Loyalty Oath"

"I had been much concerned all the time, because this boy was known for integrity and co-operative attitude by all his teachers, and because I think you don't make loyalty by getting people to sign a pledge. Those who are communistic in philosophy take that oath; it is utterly meaningless to them, but it was not to this upstanding young man who has convictions."

Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz,
Principal of Samuel Tilden High School, Brooklyn, N.Y.

"We are inclined to rejoice in the common sense of this decision. The oath of allegiance referred to strikes us as one of those formalities more likely to create hypocrites than good citizens. In any event, it takes an honest boy to consult his scruples in refusing to subscribe to it, whatever the consequences, and we are glad the . . . objector is not to be penalized."

From editorial in New York Herald Tribune, Feb. 5, 1948

Interview in the White House

IN THE SUMMER of 1949 I continued my pacifist activities, and on one occasion took part in a demonstration in front of the White House. We carried placards asking that the imprisoned conscientious objectors be freed. While the demonstration was still in progress, I was asked to accompany two Protestant ministers, prominent in pacifist affairs, to an interview with President Truman. The President was away from his office, but we were granted an interview with his administrative assistant, the late David K. Niles. When my turn came to speak to Mr. Niles, I explained to him that many of those who were in prison for refusing to register were following the dictates of their conscience. Those young men did not belong in prison, I explained. I told him that I myself had not registered, but that I did not think I belonged in prison. As he shook hands with me he said, "It's up to you young people to change the state of the world. We are too old. Good luck to you."

THE KOREAN CONFLICT burst upon the world, but I continued to explain to many of the people I met that I had not registered for the draft, and in 1951 or 1952, while the conflict was still in progress, I signed a statement under the auspices of the Peacemakers organization re-committing myself to the non-registrant position. That statement, too, was released and later reprinted in pamphlet form.

Job Hunting

AFTER RECEIVING a Master of Arts degree from Columbia University in December 1954, I began making the rounds of the employment offices. In almost every case I was given an application blank to fill out which contained in some section the words "Present Draft Status." I always wrote "C. O.," and was always asked to explain that cryptic abbreviation. In each case I explained that "C. O." stands for Conscientious Objector, and that my conscience would not permit me to register for the draft. Knowing how the government encourages informing, even to the point of giving it an aura of patriotism, I knew I was risking arrest.

Over the years there have been many causes not directly involving my pacifist witness, but with which I have sympathized. Some of these I knew were unpopular, and likely to bring on an investigation of my activities, but I was not arrested for them. In early 1950 while attending Wilmington College in Wilmington, Ohio, (which had been founded by Quakers) I became interested in learning how racial segregation might best be eliminated in the town's public schools. I refused to bow to town or college pressure and in the face of veiled threat of expulsion I was the only student who remained in an organization that was trying to do away with segregation. One foreign student, a Negro, was threatened by an immigration official.

On Behalf of Others

THERE WAS the telegram my parents and I sent to President Eisenhower in June 1953, asking, as did many people of diverse political, religious, and ethical beliefs in many lands, that the lives of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg be spared. There was, in addition, my interest in the Committee to Secure Justice for Puerto Ricans, which came into being after the shooting in Congress, which horrified and outraged people everywhere. I was aware of the terrible frustration of the Puerto Ricans in their efforts to secure their freedom and national sovereignty, and I wanted to be of some help to prevent continued violence.

Toward the end of November 1953, at a meeting co-sponsored by the Peacemakers, I signed my name to a statement expressing disapproval of the methods and scope of Congressional investigating committees and pledging the signers to refuse to appear before Congressional committees.

Arrest of my Father

EARLY IN WORLD WAR I my father, then twenty-one, refused induction into the army. At that time he registered with the purpose of establishing his conscientious objection to conscription, but he regrets his registration to this day. It was at that time the government's policy to regard all conscientious objectors as inductees, and my father was court-martialled and sentenced to twenty years at hard labor. Others were sentenced to death. These sentences were commuted, and my father served a total of twenty-six months in various prisons. The late Harlan Stone, later to become Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, was assigned by the government to pass on the sincerity of conscientious objectors, and he found my father sincere.

In World War II my father again felt compelled to oppose conscription, and he refused to register under the law which required the registration of men from eighteen through sixty-five. Only those eighteen to forty-five were being drafted, and my father was forty-six, but he felt that he must protest the Selective Service system and found non-registration the most effective way to do so. On April 27, 1942, shortly before my twelfth birthday, three F.B.I. agents with guns in their holsters came to arrest him. My father was out, and only my mother and I were home. We waited for my father to return, and after an hour had passed he called from Manhattan. When he heard that F.B.I. agents were waiting to arrest him, he promised to hurry home, realizing how alarmed my mother and I were. When he returned, he was taken into custody immediately. My mother asked where he was being taken, but she was not told, nor were we told when we might see him again.

I will never forget that night, which marked my first contact with the F.B.I. We learned the next day that

my father had been taken to the Federal House of Detention. Bail was set at \$25,000. After appearing in court on many occasions between April 27 and Dec. 3, and after spending a few weeks in jail, my father was told that the government had decided not to prosecute him.

ON JUNE 12 of this year three F.B.I. agents came to our place of business and took me into immediate custody. I was permitted to telephone the War Resisters League to notify them of my arrest and discuss bail and a lawyer.

Although I readily admitted I had not registered for the draft, I insisted I was not going to sign statements prepared by the F.B.I., and did not. The two agents who made the actual arrest (the third waited in the car) did not let me out of their sight. They followed me to our stock room where I changed into street clothes and to the wash basin where I took a drink of water. They asked to see my wallet, and looked at every item it contained. When in answer to a question I told one of them that I had received a B.A. degree from the New School for Social Research, he wanted to know how that institution is supported! We did not discuss Columbia University, although I produced from my wallet an old library card and a receipt from Columbia.

Talk with F.B.I.

ONE OF THE AGENTS was very talkative during our automobile trip to court. He asked me if I would be willing to register now, and I told him I would not, even if registration would restore my freedom to me on the spot. I asked the G-man whether he would have been willing to fight in Hitler's army. He replied that he would have been willing to fight, because the law must be obeyed. (He had previously said that he had spent a number of years in one of the armed services of the United States). When I asked him if he would have obeyed his superiors in that army he replied that there were many Germans in the Nazi army who were absolutely opposed to Hitler's laws but went along with them.

At the courthouse I was taken into the presence of Assistant U.S. District Attorney Sperling, who assured me that I had a right to consult a lawyer before answering questions or signing statements. Nevertheless, he assumed a menacing attitude when I hesitated. He intimated that the amount of bail, which was still to be fixed, would be determined then and there by the degree to which I cooperated in answering those questions. When I had determined to my own satisfaction that I was not compromising my principles nor pleading "guilty" or "innocent" in advance of an indictment or trial, I signed his prepared statement.

I was fingerprinted, handcuffed, and whisked off to the House of Detention in Manhattan. After having

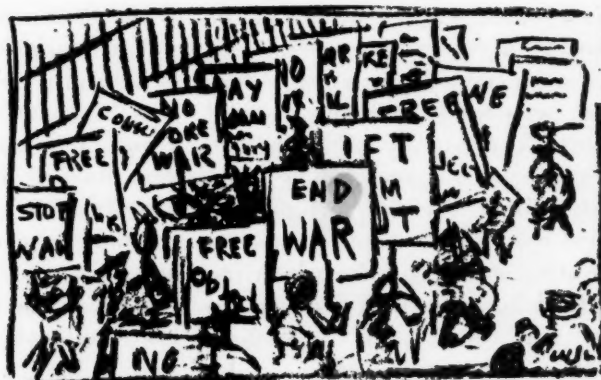
been fingerprinted again and photographed, I signed a paper enabling me to receive mail from my parents, but although they sent me a telegram after having been assured by the prison that it would reach me, (telephone messages were not permitted) I did not receive it. At 2 o'clock the following afternoon I was told that \$2,500 bail had been posted and I was handcuffed again, this time to another prisoner, and taken back to the main post office building in Brooklyn, which houses the Eastern District Court. After the bail had been posted, I was released.

"Eluding" the Draft

THE GOVERNMENT is seeking a grand jury indictment on one count, failure to register for the draft, and possibly a second count, that of eluding the draft. I suppose that makes me the only person ever to have eluded the draft for eight years while living at one address practically all the time, and the only person ever to have eluded the draft by stating his position in person to a Presidential Assistant. The fact is I was always ready and willing to tell the world of my opposition to conscription and war and that I am a non-registrant. I was not willing to concede that the government had a right to arrest me for that, nor did I feel that I must report to the agents of the government my natural right to remain free of conscription. I am sure that I was involved in enough public actions and signed enough public statements so that government agencies must know exactly what I think of conscription and war.

I am willing to obey all laws that are made in the interest of my fellow men. But participation in war is a crime against humanity. If, as the F.B.I. agent insisted, we must obey the law of the land regardless of its moral content, where would humanity be?

The Nuremburg trials stress the point that the majority is not always right, that the individual must be responsible for his own actions. Though these rulings were made by a military court, controlled by victorious military powers, they remain the essence of my position. Each individual is responsible to his God or to his conscience for his acts. Blind obedience by the individual is neither moral nor desirable.





American Frescoes 4:

The Glory of Baseball

A FEW YEARS AGO a man was found hanging in a hotel room in Montpelier, Vermont. Beside his swinging legs, on a nearby table, was a note which read: "Goodbye to the New York Yankees." The note was unsigned; the only name found in the room was on a social security card.

This incident, not without parallels, dramatizes the role which baseball plays in the lives of many persons today. In the all but anonymous existence of the big cities the baseball team is the focus of the loyalty of millions—the receptacle of their hopes and fears, joys and sorrows. Identification with a team provides a background of continuity and purpose for many whose loyalties have few other outlets.

Consumer Identifications

SIMILAR IDENTIFICATION also, of course, lies at the roots of the success of much modern advertising, and particularly the successful linking of personalities with commercial products. The mystery of why people buy products recommended by radio and television stars is partially explained by the same kind of emotional involvement. People for whom the nightly visitors on the TV screen are more real than their immediate neighbors, who call performers by

their first names, though they will never meet them, develop "brand loyalties" by transference from these personalities.

While there is—or rather just *because* there is—little difference between one brand of cigarette, gasoline, or soap flakes and another, each kind of product must be personalized. By selecting a particular brand and sticking to it the user enters a kind of club whose leader is the personality currently selling the product. Modern man, king only as consumer, establishes a kind of pseudo-self through his membership in these consumer groups. His identity is the list of products which he habitually uses.

Psychologists report that people regard their automobiles as part of themselves and want to be sure that this part is well taken care of. Such consumer identifications, however, have a limited emotional usefulness. Elements of drama are missing.

What supplies the missing elements is the game, and particularly the "national game"—baseball. Baseball grows in importance as the urban man finds it harder and harder to identify with his job. How can he be emotionally concerned with the ups and downs of the huge corporation for which he works? The nerve of his emotional involvement with his store or his firm is cut when he reali-

zes that it is part of a gigantic chain or the pawn of financial manipulations.

Comparison with other Sports

WHY HAS BASEBALL, alone among games, acquired its peculiar pre-eminence? It is the one game which the largest number of people can actually see. Football remains at bottom esoteric; the players are bunched together, and it is often difficult to make out what is happening. But baseball is spread out; it lies like an open book before us, fully revealed to the democracy of the eye. Each player stands in isolation, the entire team spread over an area of hundreds of square feet. Thousands of spectators can follow the play, even from great distances, because all that is necessary is to see which players are in motion.

Equally important is the slow pace of the game. No play lasts very long, and it is always succeeded by an interval during which everyone, even the dullest, can catch up. From this arises the game's enormous dramatic power. The crucial fact is that most of the time *nothing is happening at all*. By far the largest part of the game is taken up with waiting, waiting for the next pitch, waiting for the next batter to come up, waiting for the teams to change sides. During the waiting, tension builds up.

The Mysterious Duel

THE HEART OF THE GAME lies in the mysterious duel between the pitcher and the batter—mysterious because it is compounded of the curious mixture of skill, luck and “psychology” which determines the outcomes of all conflicts in which something more than brute force is involved. What happens will depend on who, for many reasons, is “ascendant”, which of the two players has an edge over the other. Factors of control, mental attitude (“concentration”), timing, and knowledge all enter into this. *When* the pitch is thrown is as important as *how* or *where*. The day, the weather, the stadium, all these too are involved.

It is the form of the game which is most important and which supplies major emotional needs that life itself does not supply. There is, every day, a definite outcome of victory or defeat, with its attendant joy or sorrow. Nothing is left unfinished, indecisive. Unlike life, which raises this question most urgently of all, there is never any doubt about who the victors are. The game, like all games, provides a simple answer and simple cause for rejoicing or lamenting. And just as there are no loose ends, so there is also perpetual renewal. Each new inning, each new day, each new season provides a new chance. Continually we may start over again with the assurance that something *will* be decided.

The Significance of Statistics

IN THIS RESPECT, too, baseball excels. No other game lends itself so readily and in such prodigious detail to mathematical computation. Averages for the team and for every individual player insure the feeling that everything makes sense in the simplest, most quantitative way. In our weaker moments this too is often how we would like life itself to be.

Why the proliferation of records, which number up into the thousands? The passion to get things “on the record” is not merely a symptom of

our desire to feel that there is something special about *this* game, *this* player, *this* season, it is equally the symptom of our need for continuity and tradition. In this form the past may be remembered, not as a rag-bag collection of miscellanies, but as a purposeful history.

When all this has been said, we still miss the essential appeal of baseball, for in the end the glory of the game lies in the perception it gives that the intangibles are finally determinate. Between what should happen “on paper” and what actually does happen is the realm of incalculable forces. The fascination of baseball is, above all, in the opportunity it gives to see these forces at work and to try, always fruitlessly, to fathom them. Every day they are all around us; they are the substance of our lives. Baseball is a ritual performance of them.

The Team or the Self

MODERN MAN, not able to find a self, wary of causes, distrustful of ideologies, finds in the baseball team (as in the Hollywood or TV star) the substitute for the self he has lost. Many years ago William James, the American philosopher, wrote:

So the seeker of his truest, strongest, deepest self must review the list carefully and pick out the one on which to stake his salvation. All other selves thereupon become unreal, but the fortunes of this self are real. Its failures are real failures; its triumphs real triumphs.

If we substitute in this quotation the words “ball team” for the word “self,” we have a description of the plight, and the problem of the baseball fanatics.

R.F.

* * *

WHEN MODERN MAN gets out of bed, he has no work to look forward to. There may be a factory, an office, a place of employment to go to: some externally imposed tasks to muddle through in order to receive a pay envelope at the end of the

week. But rare is the person who can feel the challenge of using his brains and his hands in such a way as to produce something useful or beautiful. And if a man cannot look at his day's work with pleasure or fulfillment, how can he look at himself with confidence? Having no reason to have faith in himself, he has lost faith in his ability to make friends.

How can a man who sells Serutan believe in himself or the coming together of something genuine in himself with something genuine in other persons who manufacture Pepsodent, bombsights, or light bulbs that are designed to burn out sufficiently often to require frequent replacing?

Inconspicuous Consumption

MAMMOTH COMMERCIALISM that has plucked the meaning from man's life by destroying the purpose, the freedom, and the honesty of his daily work tries to sell him back a pseudo-meaning. Just as it sells him aspirin to relieve the headaches it imposes, so it offers him (or her) the right suit, car, lipstick, or hairdo to restore the sense of confidence that has been sapped by his daily life. If only he will wear the right shirt or drink the distinguished whiskey or discuss the right movie, he will find that people treat him as a friend after all.

But everyone else is listening to the same commercials and thereby displaying the same “good taste”. Besides, we know that we are really impostors, working desperately to win acceptance by superficialities, while either suppressing or concealing more of our real character than we dare to reveal. At best we avoid ostracism by social conformism, but we gain no real security, no real emotional involvements with the dozens, or even hundreds, of persons with whom we come into frequent contact.

The Shared Experience

INTO THIS GAP step the mass sports, including baseball. The men who are no longer sure of themselves

and no longer trust each other, become united in a drama of love and hate, a liturgy of prayer and answer, at the ball park. Make no mistake, the mutuality of the experience is almost more decisive than the experience itself. In fact, for many, the mutuality is the experience. How many ball fans sit in their homes alone and watch the game on TV? Better the inconvenience and added expense of going to the neighborhood tavern and being at one with the other watchers. How many enjoy the game at the park when the crowd is sparse?

This explains why everyone talks to everyone at the park, why strangers sitting next to each other and rooting for opposing teams as if their very lives depended on the outcome, treat each other with a warmth of friendliness that is rare, away from the game amongst "friends." This explains why some leave the game when the outcome is still in doubt and often thousands hang on long after "their" team has a chance of pulling the game out. The time to go is when your need for emotional involvement with your fellow humans has been satisfied. What matter if the actors are still on the stage, a gigantic home run or spectacular catch in the offing? When the psychological orgy of the ball game has been sufficiently consummated, the fan wanders out in weary satisfaction.

Not all the "belonging" of the ball fan takes place at the park or is this orgiastic. What a "five o'clock pick-up" for one's sense of belonging, after

a day at the office, what a reaffirmation of brotherhood, what a short-cut to mutuality to get the score from the elevator operator or the train conductor on the way home. What easier way to come to terms with man's ancient enemy, the cop, or to blunder across the uneasy barriers of race or class than to ask if Mickey hit another homer?

The Church is Cold

BEFORE the advent of baseball, William Blake wrote, in "The Little Vagabond":

Dear mother, dear mother, the church
is cold.
But the Ale-house is healthy, and pleasant
and warm:
Besides I can tell where I am used well.
Such usage in heaven will never do well.

But if at the church they would give us
some ale,
And a pleasant fire our souls to regale;
We'd sing and we'd pray all the live-long
day;
Nor ever once wish from the church to
stray.

And God like a father rejoicing to see,
His children as pleasant and happy as he:
Would have no more quarrel with the
Devil or the Barrel
But kiss him and give him both drink
and apparel.

Today for many, the ballpark has replaced the ale-house of Blake's England as a place to find the warmth and friendliness that is tragically missing in shop and church and school.

The Ballet on the Diamond

OBVIOUSLY baseball as a big-league phenomenon can be praised for providing a measure of the interpersonal satisfaction that is denied by our system of commerce. Or it can be castigated as the opiate of the people that diverts both the aggressiveness that might be used in rebellion and the yearnings for interpersonal solidarity that should be expressed in economic sharing. But there is another aesthetic quality that must not be overlooked. What movement in ballet can excel the sheer beauty of a man's running across the outfield

at top speed and leaping into the air to snare a swiftly moving baseball on the tips of his outstretched fingers? Or the pattern of movement when the bases are loaded, two out, the count 3 and 2, and everyone is moving with the pitch? To the rhythmic grace, and the kaleidoscopic pattern of the performers in motion is added the unpredictable element of the trajectory of the ball.

Ballet has its own beauty of which baseball fans are often not aware. But let the intellectual not be blinded by the snobbery of his particular cult into failing to recognize the aesthetic aspects of the ballet on the diamond.

Vicarious Achievement

TO ACHIEVE perfection in any realm is a human aspiration. Where necessary, we achieve it vicariously. In a world where shoddy production, dishonest salesmanship, class barriers, and social sham prevent us all from living at our best, big-league baseball offers the spectacle of men who, in a limited area, achieve, at least once or twice a game, the beautiful and the near-miraculous. Our civilization emphasizes such a false distinction between intellect and body that the achievements of the baseball player (even his ability for accurate split-second thinking) are undervalued by those who emphasize the intellectual side of the dichotomy.

In addition, the dominant commercialism and competitiveness have inevitably soiled the human relationships. The player who leaps like a fawn to snare a long fly may come down to the earth computing his chances of getting a raise. The radio announcer may respond by screaming that the catch has robbed the batter of a Ballantine Blast. But the instinct of the fan who worships the mental alertness and physical grace of the performer is as healthy as the instinct of the intellectual whose frustrated life is temporarily reassured by his contact with a poem or painting.

D.D.



THE ALLURE OF COMMUNISM

A. J. Muste

IN VIEW OF the recent developments in the Communist movement and in the operations of the Russian government, how are believers in freedom and human dignity to conceive now of the struggle between the two dominant power blocs and between the socio-political and cultural regimes associated with these power-states?

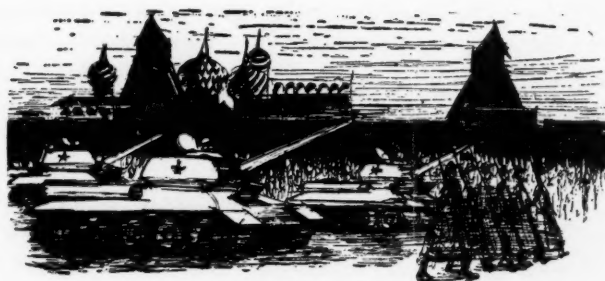
Let us take a look first at the power relationships as they lie open for anyone to see. The version of the situation put out by the Eisenhower Administration is that the U.S. has cleverly forced the Russians by its military build-up to give up their ideas of military conquest and to transfer the struggle to our own chosen terrain, *viz.* the economic, where we shall soon demonstrate the superiority of the free enterprise system. Moreover, so the Administration analysis runs, the Soviet leaders have been forced to moderate the regime's totalitarianism somewhat—though this must not lull us into neglect of our military defense—and this shows that you can't get people to acquiesce in tyranny for very long. In the showdown the world's peoples will follow our example and choose democracy.

This line has to be thought of as whistling in the dark and as morale build-up for the Republican Party in the election campaign. Since the Democrats have no alternative to offer, any story which accords with the wishes of the people, whatever its relation to reality, will fill the bill.

Rise of Communist Power

ONE NEED NOT go back to the prostrate condition of Russia in the early years of the Bolshevik regime, but only to the devastated condition of Russia and Eastern Europe ten years ago, to stand aghast at the rise in military power which has occurred. It is now admitted that even in the field of nuclear weapons and other forms of future war Soviet scientists can match those of the West. China presents much the same spectacle. Seven years ago, the conquest of continental China by the Communist Regime had not yet been completed. The building of a powerful army was not, however, delayed but actually facilitated by the Korean war, and the development of an imposing military establishment continues.

The United States, of course, on its part continues to be an extremely formidable military power and will be



for some time to come. But the main factor in its global strategy has been the Western or Atlantic alliance and the chief partners in that alliance, Great Britain and France, are reeling under the blows that are being rained upon them. The "defeat" which these *victor* nations suffered in World War II is showing up. France was forced out of Lebanon, Syria and Indo-China after World War II. Its position in North Africa is increasingly shaky. It has to maintain an army of nearly 400,000 to restore "law and order" in Algeria, and consequently can furnish practically no forces for NATO. Moreover, there have been numerous riots on the part of young troops being sent from France to Algeria and by others seeking to stop the dispatch of these troops.

Great Britain had to abandon its base in Palestine and has lost control of the Arab Legion in Jordan. It has had to abandon Suez. It may soon be driven out of Cyprus. The present British government is building a huge base in and around the Mombasa harbor in Kenya, one of many indications that it is convinced that it has lost control over the ancient route to India via the Mediterranean and the Middle East and that the remaining hope is a series of outposts, most of them some distance away from the European heartland, *viz.* the British Isles themselves, bases in Africa (including South Africa), Australia, New Zealand, and Canada. Even so, the recent announcement of Nasser, the Egyptian premier, that Egypt will give leadership and help to nationalist developments in Africa south of the equator sheds doubt on how successful England will be in retaining any hold in Africa, north of the Cape.

Middle East Crisis

THE MOST PERILOUS aspect of these developments at the moment has to do with the Middle East. Without the oil of that region, nations like France and Britain would suffer a major blow to their industries

and could hardly keep up any contribution to NATO. From the military viewpoint NATO in western Europe would become a mere shell. When Russia, via the Czech arms sale to the Nasser regime in Egypt and by other maneuvers, leaped over the Turkey-Iraq-Pakistan barrier erected under the Baghdad pact to "contain" her, she established the fact that from now on she has to be accepted as a power with a "legitimate interest" in the Middle East and therefore to be "consulted" on what is done there. In other words, she is already *joint* arbiter over Middle East oil and therefore over western Europe's military potential.

Neutral against Whom?

ANOTHER MAJOR DEVELOPMENT with a bearing on the general power relationships is the fact that during the year since the Conference at the Summit, in Geneva, the governments and peoples of the "neutral" nations have developed a more friendly and trusting attitude toward Russia and China and a more suspicious and hostile one toward the U.S., despite Eisenhower's personal popularity.

The tendency, then, is for the U.S., so far as its defense posture is concerned, to isolate itself or to be isolated by circumstance or the policy of other governments. Back of the military power of a nation or bloc is, of course, its economic and individual equipment and potential. In this field Russia and China, and even in a measure the European satellites, have made great progress. The Administration itself proclaims that the Communist



"threat" is now economic rather than military.

It is in the context of these power factors—military and economic—that the struggle for "the minds of men" and the allegiance of peoples goes on. How will it develop? What should be our own policy in relation to it?

Probably the most fruitful approach to the answer is in a sense dictated by the developments in the Communist movement, the background for which we an-

alyzed in our May issue. Given the depraved character of the Stalin regime and the stupendous errors it perpetrated, according to the present leaders of Russia and the former sycophants of Stalin, how account for the past and present growth of Communism? Obviously one part of the answer is that the opposition offered by western, democratic—shall we say Judaeo-Christian?—forces must have been frightfully weak to bring it about that millions of the most vigorous and able youths in many countries are fanatical devotees of Communism and not far from a billion people have accepted its sway. But this is clearly not enough because if Communism had nothing positive to offer, it wouldn't have gotten anywhere, even if there had been no opposition.

How Communism Attracts

1. *THE SOVIET UNION presents to the peoples of the underdeveloped countries the example of how a backward nation may rise rapidly, become a formidable power, and tell the West where to get off.*

2. *Wherever basic social change is needed in the world, except of course in Communist lands, the Communists are, by and large, the only organized movement which unequivocally declares for revolution and offers to support revolutionary elements.*

3. *The "free enterprise" system cannot be transported to the underdeveloped countries.*

American capitalism grew up in a virtually empty country, where cheap fertile land was available, which had great mineral resources, faced no formidable competitors, offered a relatively high standard of living, and so on. How transfer this system to thickly populated countries with under-nourished people, whose standard of living must be rapidly raised? Where is the capital in these countries to "compete freely" with American capital?

4. *The economic position of the U.S.—it has 9 per cent of the free world's population and 8 per cent of its area but consumes half of its raw materials—makes it difficult for it to engage in trade with underdeveloped countries. It is much easier for Russia and China to do so. Burma, desperately needing to dispose of its surplus rice, meets competition from U.S. grain surpluses. China barter for Burmese rice. Even our West European allies, plagued with a perpetual "dollar shortage", want to trade with the Communist bloc.*

5. *Psychologically, the United States—largely because of Senator Eastland, the White Citizens Councils and the racist practices in many parts of the country—stands for "white supremacy" in the eyes of the multitudes who have experienced humiliation at the hands of practitioners of this evil doctrine. The Communist movement by and large identifies itself with the underdogs. The underdogs are the majority in this world.*

The Peace Contest

6. COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS *pose, on the whole successfully, as exponents of peace.*

This is in a certain sense fantastic when one considers the military build-up in Russia and China and the terrific Communist drive for power; but nonetheless most people are persuaded that the U.S. is a greater threat to peace than Russia and China. A large number of peace workers and even pacifists in Western Europe a few years ago believed the charges of germ warfare that Communist propaganda made against the United States.

There is, moreover, a certain sense in which the U.S. is a more direct and immediate threat to peace than Communist governments at this juncture. This is not at all because the latter have attained a higher standard of morality. The main factors are that they possess much more manpower than the U.S. and its allies can muster and that they have political instrumentalities—penetration by C.P. agitators, etc.—which the Western nations in this period do not possess. Consequently, the former can play down their military activities. The United States, on the other hand, seems to be brandishing its H-bombs all the time, because it is repeatedly in the position, lacking manpower, of having to threaten nuclear war or back down.

7. *Communism has great attractive power because it presents a world-view, a philosophy of life and history, a faith or "myth", as that term is now often employed.*

There are two senses in which Communism presents a global or cosmic aspect. Geographically, for one thing, the world is now one. It cannot with advancing technology continue to function on the basis of independent, autonomous, warring national states. Marxism set out to break up the system of states. Lenin gave an immense impetus to this enterprise. Recall his doctrine of the lesser evil—so different from that of leading Christian theologians—viz. "that the lesser evil is the defeat of your own country in war." In my opinion one of the great tragedies of history is that the Bolsheviks after destroying the Czarist state, embraced nationalism again and built an even more nationalistic state. Havnig taught the Russian soldiers that all you had to do to dissolve the Czar's armies was to "vote with your feet" and walk home, they turned around and conscripted them into the Red Army.

Even so a major factor in world politics today is that, outside Communist lands, Communism stands for the breaking up of the national states and there is no other movement of substantial strength in the world which stands for a unitary, world concept. By comparison with it the United Nations idea, for example, is at best vague and tenuous. At worst, the U.N. is seen as the tool of American nationalism, as it appeared, for instance, when

it backed up American military intervention in Korea without even debating the question.

The Apocalyptic Hope

THE OTHER SENSE in which Communism has a cosmic aspect is that it is a religion or faith. What are the main doctrines of that faith? First, history is about to come to its fulfillment. The classless and warless world, the dream of the prophets, the goal of mankind's long striving, is about to be realized by forces that cannot be thwarted. Secondly, men, the people, equipped with modern science and technology, can decide their own fate; they do not have to leave it in the hands of gods, demons, priests, feudal lords, rulers, warmongers. Thirdly, the masses have in the Communist Party, which has made such advances in four short decades, the instrument which history is using for the emancipation of mankind. Fourthly, given this sure hope and firm confidence, the masses can endure the discipline and the sufferings they face in establishing the new world. It is Communists, more than any other group in today's world, who confidently assert, in the words of the Epistle, "the sufferings of this present time are not to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed to us . . ."

The one thing that tended to alienate men nevertheless, or at least to arouse grave doubts in their minds, was the brutality of Communism in its actual embodiment, its ruthlessness, its practice of wholesale deceit, its disregard for human dignity. Now, the "new line" seems to say that the post-Stalin leaders realize these were errors, perhaps even crimes, and are going to forswear them. There is no doubt that in these circumstances the present leadership of the C.P. of the Soviet Union, collaborating with the Chinese Communist leadership, exercises a great attraction for such figures as Tito, Nehru, Soekarno, even Nasser. It may prove difficult for Socialist parties in such countries as Italy and France and in the Latin American lands to keep clear of some kind of alliance with the C.P. If the Kremlin objective of forming a new, less rigid and "monolithic," socialist-communist "international" were to succeed, this might well have a greater impact on world politics than the rise of Russia and China themselves to their present power status.

War is not the Answer

SUCH A SURVEY as this confirms the fact that war is not the means to overcome Communism. Nor is there any evidence that American policy generally, the American culture or "way of life", can meet the needs of mankind today and draw them away from Communism, especially in its present guise.

The first item in the outlook of the radical in America has to be that we must let nothing drive us to back or condone U.S. militarism, to support the American power-state, to be the willing beneficiaries or the agents

of the American economic system, to succumb to the dominant culture and regard that as the good life for Americans or other peoples.

New Look or New Mask?

CONCERNING OUR ATTITUDE towards Communism, it still has to be determined whether the "new look" is a mask or whether an inner transformation is back of the changed countenance. We do not wish to succumb to mental rigidity and assert dogmatically that basic change in Communist regimes is forever ruled out. But the fact that a totalitarian wears a smile instead of a frown does not make a libertarian out of him.

Responsible political conduct in this crisis seems to me to require of Communists and of Communist regimes that *they* meet the tests of honesty, justice and concern for freedom.

1. Let Communist regimes permit foreign papers to be freely circulated and read by their peoples.

2. Let them encourage genuinely free travel of Russians abroad, not just tours by carefully selected individuals.

3. Let them permit such peace and pacifist organizations as the War Resisters League, the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Women's International League to carry on their work in Iron Curtain countries.

4. Let them release the political prisoners who are still in prison and concentration camps.

5. Let them permit an opposition party to function or—since we do not necessarily regard the so-called two-party system as the only expression, or even as an expression, of democracy—let them make it possible for opposition to function within the Communist Party.

Highway of the Future

THE MAIN ROAD for the future, therefore, is not in acceptance or support of the American power-state, or the American "way of life", save as it may be radically altered. Nor is it in the support of the Communist bloc or of Communism, save as it may be radically



altered. We need a Third Way. Essentially, I believe, this must be a Gandhian way.

Those nations which instinctively seek to keep out of

both power orbits must be encouraged to pass from mere neutralism to genuine independence. U Nu's recent resignation as Burmese Premier in protest against the difficulties the Soviet embassy placed in the way of his effort to pursue an independent course is an encouraging development. Every move of peoples, parties, groups, individuals, to cast off either Communist or Western control, to work out their own way of life, is charged with hope. Neither Russia nor the United States can fail to be influenced by such developments.

The only way, furthermore, in which the genuine good in Communism and in other ways of life, including our own, can be brought out, and thus a reconciliation brought about which is deep and true, is by people who resolutely reject and refuse to condone the evil in these systems, insisting there is no double standard of political morality and social behaviour, and who themselves live the good which they profess and desire.

THE HOUND AND THE HARE

Thou hast a crooked tongue,
holding with the hound and
running with the hare.

Anon. circa 1440

*I came on one who said: The hare
Is God-begotten as he is, for flight;
Hunt with the hounds. Then if you must
For conscience' sake, confound their plan,
Bore from within; this in the end
Will topple down their house, he said—
And fell—his heart impaled upon his pen.*

*Another said: I'll make my name
A synonym for loyalty,
And when I've won their houndish hearts
I'll shame them into charity;
Meanwhile I write what I can sell—
And ended utterly outcast,
Too hot for heaven and too cold for hell.*

*A third was circumspect, and clever;
I, he said, will play the clown,
I'll sing the baron's song and take
His gold; and when his back is turned
I'll raise my arm and strike him down.
He was the first whose neck was wrung
Upon the gallows when the rest were hung.*

*These three: I bear them no ill will;
They lived for me—Glory be!—
The life I might have lived and by
Example saved me from myself.
But he who holds with hound and runs
With hare, a curse upon his pen,
And may the Devil piss on him, Amen!*

Lawrence Lipton

PUERTO RICO ANOTHER OPINION

NORMAN THOMAS

THOUGHTFUL AMERICANS concerned with the peace and well being of mankind will share LIBERATION's desire to rid the world of colonialisms, old and new. But as Sidney Lens himself says of Puerto Rico, "the mere cry for independence is not enough." I was, therefore, surprised that LIBERATION's fourth issue should discuss Puerto Rico in terms that suggest—despite Mr. Lens' more balanced judgments—a preference for Albizu Campos and what he symbolizes as against Luis Munoz Marin and his Commonwealth. To the degree that this is true it is a grave disservice to Puerto Ricans and men of good will generally.

It is generous of the editors to permit me space to tell why I pass this judgment on their Puerto Rican issue.

Let's begin with some facts. I do not write as an expert on Puerto Rico. I've been on the island too briefly—not even the standard ten days or two weeks which make visitors into experts. I do know Albizu Campos and Gov. Munoz Marin; I am in touch with the Commonwealth's work among Puerto Ricans in the states, and I am familiar with certain statistics and historical facts.

The Economic Improvements

PUERTO RICO is a lovely island of 3,435 square miles, half the size of New Jersey, without great natural resources and with a population of 2.2 millions. The early decades of American rule pretty well surrendered Puerto Rican economy to big sugar interests and the island shared the poverty of the Caribbean area. Between 1940 when Munoz-Marin became governor and 1954, the total income of Puerto Rico rose from \$228 millions to \$971 millions. Of this latter income, 58% was paid out in wages and salaries. That is too low a percentage, but it compares favorably with Japan's 45.8%, Australia's 54%, New Zealand's 54.3%, or even Norway's 58.9%. Puerto Rico now ranks among Latin American countries second only to Argentina in per capita gross national product. Here are some figures:

Puerto Rico, \$469; Venezuela, \$457; Cuba, \$454; Mexico, \$199; Haiti, \$62. During the years under review, the Puerto Rican government's expenditures for education have risen to \$38 million, the school enrollment has nearly doubled, and the expenditures per pupil have risen from \$24 to \$65. There are more than 10,000 students in the university. Basic instruction is in Spanish but the learning of English also is strongly encouraged. The death rate has been reduced from 8.4 per thousand in 1940 to 7.7 per thousand in 1954.

Unemployment is high—around 15%—and the great and successful effort of the government to encourage new industries can only reduce it slightly while the rate of increase of population remains as high as it is. The government has made intelligent efforts to reduce it. Overpopulation is the reason why the American connection and the right of unrestricted immigration to the United States are economically so important.

The Political Situation

THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT is the product of constructive statesmanship, not perfect—what government is?—but today preferable in terms of the island's needs to statehood or independence. The island by and large has more autonomy than any American state. However, defense, foreign relations, immigration and international trade are in the federal jurisdiction. President Eisenhower assured the UN, through Ambassador Lodge, that, "if at any time the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico adopts a resolution in favor of more complete or even absolute independence, he will immediately thereafter recommend to Congress that such independence be granted." The Constitution of the Commonwealth was adopted in March 1952 by a majority of 81.9%

Under the Constitution, minority representation in the legislature is increased beyond its vote if the majority party wins more than two-thirds of the seats. Thus

the *Independistas* and the party advocating statehood are ably represented.

"Sporadic" Violence

AGAINST THIS set of facts, *LIBERATION* presents Ruth Reynolds' distortion of history. It appears that, not only before 1940 but since, a "Spanish conception of Honor" drove Albizu Campos' friends to "regrettable" but "sporadic" violence. Such violence is but a "Molotov cocktail" compared to an "American hydrogen bomb." This "sporadic" violence included attempts to storm Puerto Rico's White House and assassinate Munoz Marin in 1954 along with attempts to assassinate President Truman and various members of Congress in Washington. (Incidentally, until after this attempt Munoz walked with no bodyguard and rode in no bullet-proof car. His guard is now far smaller and more informal than President Eisenhower's.)

Pacifists, some of whom once wrote and spoke of Albizu Campos as "the American Gandhi"—completely contrary to his own open and quasi-mystical faith in violence—may regard "regrettable" as an adequate word for these efforts at assassination of officials, presumably guilty of supporting colonialism. But even they should find some stronger adjective to characterize the Nationalists who threw two real Molotov cocktails into the Puerto Rican government's labor office in New York. Only a defective bomb and the presence of mind of one of the employees prevented great loss of life among Puerto Ricans seeking help of the well organized Commonwealth office.

All this violence Albizu Campos preached, most of it he praised. He had been conditionally pardoned on condition that he refrain from his former incitements to violence. After the 1950 outbreak by his devotees, he was rearrested and for a considerable time hospitalized. (He sat in wet blankets to divert the "atomic rays" which he thought his enemies were directing against him.) *LIBERATION* owes its readers a far more convincing argument for urging his pardon than is to be found in its printed appeal. Is it that Albizu Campos has renounced violence; or that he should be confined to a hospital, not a prison; or that his violent speech has now no effect on his devoted followers?

Miss Reynolds also makes much of the fact that in the vote on the Constitution, 42% of the voters, on Albizu Campos' advice, stayed away from the polls as an act of non-cooperation. In the United States in 1948, half the qualified voters didn't vote. Was that a sign of desire for independence from Truman, Dewey, Wallace, or myself? Are there no apathetic absentees in Puerto Rico but only followers of Campos' rejection of democratic procedure?

Socialism in one Island

MR. LENS' article is of a different order. He makes some valid points. I should come fairly close to agreeing with him if I thought (a) that one could get socialism in one small island; or (b) that his approach is likely to make Americans do a better job in overcoming militarism on the mainland and in Puerto Rico—a militarism implicit in the arms race; or (c) that in the important present there would be gain for Puerto Rico in independence conditioned on a chance of federal union with certain of its Latin American neighbors. I believe none of these things, although point (c) may some day become a desirable objective.

I definitely reject some of Mr. Lens' assertions. Possibly in an ideally ordered world Puerto Rico's economic needs would be "directly opposite to those of the mainland." Not today when its American connection gives Puerto Rico an inside market for its chief product, rather high cost sugar, encourages investors in new industries, and gives it an outlet for its surplus population. I happen to know that Gov. Munoz regretted selling the government's five factories more than Mr. Lens realizes. He found that he could do more for his people *under existing conditions* with the \$11 millions of the purchase price than by the public employment in them of relatively few workers. The same estimate of priorities has slowed down the breaking up of certain large sugar holdings. Is such calculation illegitimate? Would it be ended by independence? Economically, in the short run, militarism in Puerto Rico, as in the United States, has made for employment. That is a fact of possibly tragic consequences; it will be changed not by independence for Puerto Rico with its own military establishment, but by achieving universal, controlled disarmament. (Incidentally, the 33,000 acre island of Vieques was taken over because its land was submarginal).

A New Colonialism or a New Decency?

FINALLY, I challenge Mr. Lens' dogmatic argument that Munoz Marin's social reform which "to the superficial eye, is nothing short of remarkable" has been made possible *only* by American concern for military bases under a new colonialism. The editors of *LIBERATION* must assume some decency and conscience in the American people, even including government officials and military men, or they would hardly publish their paper. Would they not get farther by a less censorious tone on our relations with Puerto Rico, and by more frank and gracious recognition not only of the unusual statesmanship of Luis Munoz Marin but also of the wisdom in Washington and Puerto Rico which has given him his chance?

The Best Hope for Freedom

Comment on the editors' Tract for the Times

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

I AGREE with many of your criticisms of liberalism and of Marxism. But I do not see that LIBERATION's alternative really comes to grips with the issue of power in modern life. As I see it, modern science and technology render political centralization inevitable; one must either accept power or reshuffle it. As LIBERATION sees it, power can be abolished, or at least be so widely dispersed that it stops being an important social factor. But *Tract for the Times* hardly demonstrates this. Nor does this proposition seem to me in accord with either the frailties of human nature or the facts of modern technical society. You write that there is no point in reshuffling power because the same old abuses will persist under new masters. While it is true that abuses will persist under any form of organization, it still seems to me that the best hope for individual freedom lies in the chinks and fissures created by the reshuffling process.

While I thus disagree with LIBERATION's contention that the world can somehow escape from public policy, I value your radical reaffirmation of the central importance of the individual. Any faith which bears this witness deserves a hearing, even if its own solutions may be unconvincing. All those who attempt to deal with the realities (as it seems to them) of human nature and of technical society badly need to have their values and perspectives brought under unrelenting criticism, even (and sometimes particularly) under utopian criticism.

Frankly, we do not come out where Mr. Schlesinger does on the question of power. However, it is a crucial subject, which will receive further discussion in future issues.

The Editors

Letters . . .

New York City

Dear Editors:

The article by Esme Wynne-Tyson on The Masculine and Feminine Balance offers an interesting point of view well worth further study—namely, that our civilization lacks the understanding of what constitutes real feminine values, and relies too much on masculine violence.

However, the subject is so complex that it is bound to suffer from the limitation of a magazine article, the result being an over-simplified and, in parts, biased, presentation, which, I trust, was not the author's intention. Lack of space makes it impossible, too, to discuss it at length. I shall briefly mention three points which seem particularly in need of clarification.

The author does not emphasize sufficiently that the "feminine" qualities are not necessarily women's qualities. Women are as violent as men. For instance, it would be a fallacy to think them less war-like than men. Often women are sentimental and emotional, but that has nothing to do with compassion which is as rare in women as in men, and, maybe, rarer.

To appear to lay at the door of the Jews the fact that our Western civilization is almost unaware of the "feminine" qualities of non-violence, mercy and wisdom, is most extraordinary. It is to assume that Jesus came out of nowhere, that he had no connection whatsoever with his people. It is not a quotation from the Talmud, out of context and historical background, which can give us a true picture of Israel. It is sufficient to open the Bible and be confronted with the innumerable passages in the Old Testament, on mercy, compassion and wisdom.

Finally, the events of two thousand years ago had better be left alone. It is impossible to analyze them in a few sentences and then brand them as the result of an over-masculinity of the Jews. This is no analysis at all, just a hurling of epithets. Unless one is willing and ready to begin an exhaustive historical search and study of the problem, it is best to abide by the Church teaching that Jesus died because of the sins of mankind, and that we, so-called Christians, go on crucifying him everyday in our fellowmen. I shall add—most particularly in the Jews.

Now who can assert that the "sins" of mankind belong only to the masculine characteristics of both sexes? The balance, rightly sought for by Wynne-Tyson, is to be found, I think, not in denying one or the other of the characteristics, but in understanding that our very young human world does not know yet what those masculine and feminine qualities really are. Our concept of them is still very crude. The Jews were the first ones to have had a stupendous intuition of the true grandeur of both characteristics.

Claire Huchet Bishop

"From time immemorial despots have used real or imagined threats to the public welfare as an excuse for needlessly abrogating human rights. That excuse is no less unworthy of our traditions when used in this day of atomic warfare or at a future time when some other type of warfare may be devised."

U.S. Supreme Court Justice Frank Murphy

"Nineteen pacifists, four of them women, were arrested yesterday afternoon when they defied police and tried to sit out the twelve-minute Civil Defense test on benches in Washington Square. The group gave advance notice of their intentions."

New York Herald Tribune, July 21, 1956

"As individuals we are opposed to all preparation for war. We believe that the Civil Defense effort is part of the war psychology . . . We cannot believe that any nation has the moral or spiritual right to visit nuclear destruction upon any people and on their descendants. . . . We propose that the nations divert the money, time and human energy involved to the promotion of peace."

From a statement signed by

Dorothy Day, Ralph Di Gia, Robert Gilmore and Kent Larrabee, for the participants.



The first three climbing into the patrol wagon are: Ralph Di Gia, Robert Gilmore and James Peck, all of LIBERATION.

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